

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 04728 151326Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----097545 151328Z /45

O 151240Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2119
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 4728

EXDIS
FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, PINT, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: MEETING WITH MUZOREWA

1. SUMMARY: GRAHAM AND I MET ALONE WITH BISHOP MUZOREWA FOR LITTLE OVER AN HOUR MONDAY MORNING, AUGUST 14. IT WAS A DIFFICULT SESSION. THE BISHOP'S GROWING HOSTILITY TOWARDS NKOMO, THE FRONT LINE, AND THE UK-US POLICY WAS MANIFEST. END SUMMARY.

2. WE STARTED OFF BY CONGRATULATING HIM ON HIS MEETING WITH GUERRILLAS ON SATURDAY AND THE REAFFIRMATION OF HIS LEADERSHIP AT THE UANC PROVINCIAL REPRESENTATIVES MEETING ON SUNDAY. HE ACKNOWLEDGED HE WAS VERY PLEASED. GRAHAM REVIEWED THE SITUATION SINCE OUR LAST MEETING TOGETHER, NOTING THAT WE COULD NOT HELP BUT DETECT A CONTINUING SERIOUS SECURITY PROBLEM IN THE COUNTRY. WE EXPLAINED AGAIN THE PROPOSAL WHICH WAS DEVELOPING FOR AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING AT THE LEVEL OF PRINCIPALS. WE POINTED OUT THAT WHETHER THE POSITION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WAS IMPROVING AND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 04728 151326Z

STRENGTHENING EVERY DAY AS HE SEEMED TO FEEL, OR WHETHER ITS PROBLEMS REMAINED UNRESOLVED AS WAS OUR VIEW, THERE COULD NOT HELP BUT BE AN ADVANTAGE TO SUCH A MEETING FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW. WE SAW INCREASING SUPPORT FOR THE IDEA OF A MEETING, NOT ONLY WITHIN THE COUNTRY BUT ABROAD, AS THE RECENT LEGISLATION PASSED BY THE U.S. CONGRESS INDICATED. INSIDE RHODESIA ONE GROUP AFTER ANOTHER EXPRESSED TO

US THEIR SUPPORT FOR A CONFERENCE AND THEIR HOPE THAT A SETTLEMENT TO THE CONTINUING CONFLICT COULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT THAT WAY.

3. THE BISHOP ASKED HOW IT COULD BE THAT OUR INFORMATION WAS SO DIFFERENT FROM HIS. HIS PROVINCIAL REPRESENTATIVES MEETING THE DAY BEFORE HAD UNANIMOUSLY TURNED DOWN THE IDEA OF A MEETING. ONLY ONE OR TWO OF THE PROVINCIAL GROUPS EVEN HAD A QUESTION IN THEIR MINDS WHEN THEY CAME TO THE MEETING. HE IMPLIED THAT OUR ASSESSMENT WAS BIASED AND THAT THERE WAS AN ATTEMPT TO "TWIST" THE SITUATION TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE ALONE WAS HOLDING OUT AGAINST A CONFERENCE. WE LISTED THE ORGANIZATIONS WHO HAD EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR A CONFERENCE INCLUDING THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS IN SALISBURY -- BOTH BLACK AND WHITE -- WHICH COULD HARDLY BE ACCUSED OF BEING BIASED.

4. AS THE CONVERSATION DEVELOPED, MUZOREWA'S BITTERNESS OVER WHAT HE CONSIDERED THE PARTIALITY OF THE WORLD TOWARDS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT BECAME MORE AND MORE EVIDENT. WE POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD ACCEPTED OUR PROPOSALS IN SEPTEMBER OF LAST YEAR BASED ON AN IMPARTIAL TRANSITION AND ELECTION AND THAT WE HAD RESISTED ZAMBIA'S EFFORTS IN THE FALL TO SEEK A SOLUTION ON THE BASIS OF A TURNOVER OF POWER TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WITHOUT AN ELECTION. HE COUNTERED THAT THE MALTA CONFERENCE HAD UNMASKED OUR WILLINGNESS TO MAKE A SEPARATE DEAL WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. WE ARGUED THAT ON THE CONTRARY, WE HAD ACHIEVED A SIGNIFICANT MODIFICATION OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S VIEWS AT MALTA AND OUR PROPOSAL FOR A GOVERNING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 04728 151326Z

COUNCIL, OF WHICH SIX OF THE MEMBERS WOULD BE FROM THE PRESENT SALISBURY GROUP AGAINST FOUR FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, WAS AN EFFORT TO PROTECT THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE NATIONALISTS INSOFAR AS POSSIBLE.

5. MUZOREWA BECAME MORE AND MORE FRANK. HE SAID WE COULD ARGUE AS WE WISHED IN FAVOR OF AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE BUT WE SHOULD NOT PRETEND THAT THE UK AND US WERE NOT PATENTLY FAVORING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. WE HAD BOUGHT KAUNDA'S POSITION HOOK, LINE, AND SINKER AND DID NOT CARE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN SO LONG AS NKOMO BECAME PRESIDENT. WE SAID WE DID NOT THINK THAT WAS AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF OUR POSITION OR OF THAT OF THE FRONT LINE, AND THAT AS A MATTER OF FACT, IN CONVERSATIONS WITHIN THE LAST FEW WEEKS WITH THE THREE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, MACHEL, NYERERE, AND KAUNDA, ALL HAD EXPRESSED THE POSITION THAT MUZOREWA HAD A ROLE TO PLAY AND THAT THEY WOULD ACCEPT HIM AS HEAD OF A FREELY ELECTED GOVERNMENT. NYERERE HAD SPECIFICALLY EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT HE HAD A MAJOR ROLE TO PLAY, AND MACHEL FELT SIMILARLY. MUZOREWA'S REPLY WAS TO SAY THAT THAT MAY BE WHAT THEY WERE TELLING US, BUT HE KNEW WHAT THEY REALLY THOUGHT. THERE WAS NO ROOM IN THEIR CONCEPTION OF WHAT WAS ACCEPTABLE IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE FOR HIMSELF. MACHEL HAD

RESTRICTED HIM TO HIS RESIDENCE WHEN HE TRIED TO SEE THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS FROM MAPUTO IN 1976. KAUNDA HAD ONLY ACCEPTED HIM WHEN HE HAD NO OTHER CHOICE IN 1974. WE PROTESTED THIS VIEW OF THE FRONT LINE POSITION AND EVEN MORE SO OF OUR OWN SUPPOSED ACCEPTANCE OF IT, WHICH WE REPEATED WAS NOT AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF OUR POSITION DURING THE PAST TWELVE MONTHS. HE HAD NO ANSWER TO OUR QUESTION OF WHY WE SHOULD BE SO PLIANT TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S POINT OF VIEW.

6. AT THE END OF THE CONVERSATION WE THANKED HIM FOR HIS TIME. HE READILY AGREED THAT THOUGH WE DID NOT SEE THINGS THE SAME WAY, WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSIONS WHENEVER IT WAS USEFUL.

7. COMMENT: AS THE BISHOP'S POSITION WEAKENS, HE IS INCLINED TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PRETOR 04728 151326Z

BLAME SCAPEGOATS OUTSIDE THE ARENA IN WHICH THE STRUGGLE IS TAKING PLACE AND CLING OBSTINATELY TO WHAT HE ALREADY HAS. I CAN ONLY, THEREFORE, CONCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

A. THE BISHOP WILL NOT VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO ATTEND AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING OF ANY KIND. HE MIGHT NEVERTHELESS BE PERSUADED TO GO TO SUCH A MEETING BUT ONLY (1) AFTER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE FROM SMITH, AND (2) IF HIS MORE POLITICALLY ASTUTE ADVISERS (PARTICULARLY CHICKEREMA) COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THERE IS MORE TO BE GAINED THAN LOST FROM GOING TO A MEETING.

B. UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES IT IS HARD TO IMAGINE THAT THE BISHOP WOULD AGREE TO GO TO A MEETING IN ZAMBIA, WHETHER OR NOT HE HAD BEEN FORMALLY INVITED BY KAUNDA. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD THEREFORE BEGIN THINKING OF AN ALTERNATIVE VENUE AGAIN AS A PRICE OF A CONFERENCE WHICH INCLUDES MUZOREWA.

C. WE MAY ALSO WANT TO BEGIN THINKING OF WHETHER OR NOT WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN A CONFERENCE WHICH MUZOREWA DID NOT ATTEND. IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR THAT SMITH WOULD BE INTERESTED IN SUCH A MEETING AND IT COULD NOT BE TERMED AN "ALL-PARTIES" MEETING.
EDMONDSON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, MEETINGS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978PRETOR04728
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780333-0722
Format: TEL
From: PRETORIA
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780863/aaaacajh.tel
Line Count: 156
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 3cff8563-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1736590
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: MEETING WITH MUZOREWA
TAGS: PDEV, PINT, RH, (MUZOREWA, ABEL)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/3cff8563-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014